The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXXI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 27, 1930 No. 3399

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 211
EDITORIALS:
The "New Tammany" Again 214
Is It Another War? 215
Tom Thumb Golf 215
The Poor Old Theater 216
COMMUNISM IN CHINA. By Maxwell S. Stewart 217
ORCHARD. By Glenn Ward Dresbach 218
THE PACKERS' PLEA. By Robert V. Begley 219
HOMICIDE ON WHEELS. By Carl Dreher 221
THE PROFITS OF WAR. By Forrest Revere Black 222
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 223
CORRESPONDENCE 224
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 224
BOOKS:
Now Must the Mind Write. By Eda Lou Walton 225
The Classical Canons. By Henry Hazlitt 225
Bloodless Biography. By Eugene Löhrke 226
Mr. Masters on a Spree. By Horace Gregory 226
The New Criminology. By William Seagle 227
Histories of the Jews. By Isidor Schneider 228
Books in Brief 228

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor
HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY, Managing Editor
Associate Editors
FREDA KIRCHWEY
DOROTHY VAN DOREN ARTHUR WARNER
Dramatic Editor Literary Editor
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH HENRY HAZLITT
Contributing Editors
JOHN A. HOBSON HEYWOOD BROUN H. L. MENCKEN
NORMAN THOMAS LEWIS S. GANNETT CARL VAN DOREN
MARK VAN DOREN LUDWIG LEWISOHN
DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager

Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Cable Address: Nation, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London, W. C. 1, England.

DROUGHT RELIEF goes on apace, as far at least as organization is concerned. The governors who met in conference with Mr. Hoover have approved an elaborate scheme of State and county committees, with a federal committee to coordinate the work of the government and the States. The Red Cross, in addition to being represented on all of these committees, is to have a committee of its own in every county where its help is needed, and $5,000,000 has been allotted as its preliminary contribution to relief. The railways have been authorized to reduce their rates on food, feed, and live stock, although it does not appear that the government intends to reimburse them for what is virtually an enforced contribution. Further to relieve the unemployment or loss of income due to failure of crops, federal road funds to the amount of $121,875,000 have been apportioned to the States in advance of corresponding appropriations required by law from the States themselves. Mr. Hoover has also announced his intention to get after the food profiteers. Now that rains have fallen in the drought areas, it appears that the extent of the disaster may have been somewhat exaggerated, but the need of relief is still great.

OUR FOREIGN TRADE during July fell to the lowest point in nearly ten years. Exports amounted to only $269,000,000, and imports to $219,000,000, a decline in each case of about 30 per cent from 1929. There was an outflow of $42,500,000 in gold during the month, against an inflow of nearly $35,000,000 in July of last year. The seven months ending with July, however, have seen an increase of nearly $202,000,000 in our gold stock. The finance specialist of the Commerce Department ascribes the present large gold exports to increased American lending abroad. The steadily shrinking totals of foreign trade reflect the world-wide business depression, and are not limited to the United States. In part they are due to the decline of prices, but in part to a fall in the actual volume of goods handled. It is accordingly unfair to attribute the lessening of our trade chiefly to the new tariff, as some of its partisan critics have done; but nothing could illustrate more clearly than these figures the folly of hobbling trade further at a time when everything possible should be done to stimulate business.

SENATOR NORRIS won handsomely in the Nebraska Republican primary, despite the fierce opposition of the power interests and the supporters of President Hoover. He will be opposed in November by the fairly conservative and regular ex-Senator Hitchcock, and the campaign is likely to see much breaking of party lines. There is every reason to expect, however, that when the Muscle Shoals spoilers again rush to the attack in December, not only will they find Horatius Norris standing as usual at the bridge, but they will find him under orders from the people of Nebraska to stand there six years more, if necessary. The Kansas Republicans have nominated Senator Allen, now holding office by appointment, on a platform of Hoover regularity, over the opposition of organized labor, which was against him as the author of the Kansas industrial-court law, and that of the Negroes, who opposed him because of his support of Judge Parker. Negro leaders opposed to Senator Allen express themselves, however, as well satisfied with the results they obtained among the voters of their race.

IT IS A PITY that the unemployment census has been handled in a way to invite destructive criticism of its findings. During past months we have had frequent occasion to criticize the unemployment figures given out by the Department of Labor, and we shared the hope that the census count might throw a clearer light on the situation. Unhappily, the public handling of the results obtained by the Census Bureau, like the earlier outgivings of the Department of Labor, has disclosed a tendency to minimize the facts of unemployment. The latest critic of the census findings is Professor Charles E. Persons, a well-known economist engaged in the unemployment census from November to April, when, as he says, "I quit the service when I found that efforts were being made to reduce the number of unemployed to the number of jobless workers." (The unemployed include not only workers entirely without jobs, but also those who are at present laid off and are expecting reemployment.) Professor Persons holds that the actual number of jobless is nearer 3,000,000 than 2,000,000, the approximate number announced by Secretary Lamont on June 26, and his own guess at the total number unemployed is approximately 5,000,000. (This figure, of course, would include the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

3,000,000 jobless.) The unhappy fact is that the Census Bureau has done little to answer satisfactorily the question we are all asking, namely, how many people are out of work. Such an answer we shall not get until we have a nation-wide system of reporting.

AFTER A LONG DELAY, Governor Roosevelt of New York has appointed the commission provided by the legislation of last winter to prepare a plan "for the development and operation of the water-power resources of the State on the St. Lawrence by trustees." The commissioners, it will be recalled, are to follow the plan of public development unless they conclude that it is not feasible or practical, and it is pointed out in the press that three members of the commission, Representative Frederick M. Davenport, Mr. Julius Henry Cohen, and ex-Lieutenant Governor Thomas F. Conway, are already committed in principle to the Smith-Roosevelt plan. Professor Robert M. Haig, of Columbia University, the chairman of the commission, enjoys an enviable reputation as an able and fair-minded student of public affairs, and Mr. Samuel Fuller brings valuable banking experience to the commission, while Mr. Cohen has been one of the chief advisers of Governor Smith and Governor Roosevelt in water-power matters. Altogether, it appears to be a working commission, and friends of public ownership and operation certainly cannot complain that their ideas will not receive friendly consideration.

THE FINING and sentencing to prison for three months of two young women, Ailene Holmes and Mabel Husa, directors of the International Workers' Relief Camp at Van Etten, New York, for "insulting the American flag" is the direct result of the baiting of that camp by members of the American Legion and the Patriotic Order of America. The offense was that when a member of the Legion and Mrs. Daisy Felt of the Patriotic Order offered to present to the camp an American flag, the offer

> . . . was spurned and that the defendants had led the seventy children at the International Workers' Relief Camp in cheers against the flag and had hoisted a red flag over the American national emblem when it was raised on a pole across the road from the camp.

This wickedness the defendants denied; their denial availed them not in a community which had been aroused to the point of a mob attack upon the children and their teachers, compelling their defense by the police. This is a genuine triumph for the Fish committee, whose visits to other such camps unquestionably drew public attention to this one. How incredible it all seems! Does any sane and loyal American really believe that our great American flag can be harmed by such acts as those attributed to the Communists—assuming that the charges are true? If we are asked which of the two acts at Van Etten is more dangerous and humiliating, we submit that it is the persecution of the Communists by these self-appointed censors and not the childish bad manners of the Communists.

HAITI ONCE MORE brings disturbing news. The Cabinet of President Roy resigned on August 14 in protest against the proposed appointment of Carl Colvin as director of the Service Technique, announced from Washington by the State Department in July. Feeling in Haiti is very strong against the expensive Service Technique, with its American personnel, and it was the ill-advised action of its former head, Dr. Freeman, it will be recalled, that gave rise to the disorders of last December leading up to the appointment of the Forbes Commission. The Department of State attributes the present crisis to internal Haitian political agitation and bluntly insists on the Colvin appointment, but it is impossible to disguise the seriousness of a situation in which friction between the Haitian government and the Occupation has reached a point causing the resignation of the Cabinet. The appointment of Mr. Dana C. Munro, of the Latin-American division of the State Department, as Minister to Haiti, cannot be said to offer great promise for a more understanding treatment of the questions constantly arising, and the return of General Russell to Haiti in September to supervise the coming election is almost certain to increase anti-American feeling yet farther, while the disbanding of the Forbes Commission, which has been bowed out with thanks, suggests that the Haitians may hope for no further official help from that quarter. The problems of withdrawal following our blundering fifteen-year adventure in Haiti are difficult enough, but why fritter away the good-will evoked by the Forbes Commission?

NO TAX ON FOOD has long been a slogan of British housewives, and as most British women now have a vote they may be expected to resent at the polls any attempt to give the tax-gatherer access to their kitchens. The question is not so easy, however, now that protection sentiment is running strongly among the Conservatives and spreading dissension in the Labor Party, and the Government has lately added a further complication. A recent commercial treaty with Rumania provides for the admission into Rumania of British manufactures of all kinds at the lowest rates of the present or any future tariff, as long as Rumanian raw foodstuffs are admitted into the United Kingdom free of duty. On the other hand, the committee which is arranging the program of the Imperial Conference has before it a proposal, emanating from its economic advisory staff, for a general tariff of 10 per cent on British imports, nominally for "revenue purposes" and for a limited period, with rebates on imports from the dominions. As the Rumanian concession would end if duties were imposed upon food, the treaty and the proposed tariff would seem to be a good deal at odds. The dominions would like to see the food supply of the United Kingdom drawn wholly from the Empire, and the United Kingdom would like to have the dominions buy heavily of British manufactured goods, but Canada and Australia are also bent upon protecting their own manufactures and raw materials, and neither they nor the other dominions are willing to grant free trade in food among themselves.

THE POLITICS OF OIL have long had many and intricate ramifications. The Turks, who for some time have been absorbed with the political and social reorganization of their new state, have lately found themselves obliged to repel a serious inroad of the half-civilized Kurds, and in order to get at the Kurds in the mountainous region which they occupy have threatened, so it is reported, to cross Persian territory whether Persia consents or not. Persia, naturally, is much exercised over this affront to its sov-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ereignty, and there is talk of bringing the matter before the League of Nations, of which body, thanks to the spirit of brotherly love which prevails at Geneva, Turkey is not a member. The Turkish government, on the other hand, has intimated that there is more to the Kurdish affair than appears on the surface, and that a certain European Power which it has not named is back of the outbreak, with the control of Mosul oil as the principal objective. As Great Britain, thanks to the stalwart aid of the League, has the chief grip on the Mosul oil deposits, one cannot help wondering if the Turkish intimation squints in the direction of Downing Street and the British Foreign Office. Turkey, it will be remembered, kicked out of doors the Sèvres treaty which the Allies tried to impose upon it, and refused to have anything to do with the Lausanne treaty until that treaty was framed to suit it. If the Turks really have any documents about Mosul oil they ought to publish them and let the world know whose game the Kurds are playing.

Nationalism under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in India is not the struggle of a people for liberty and political unity, generally termed nationalism, but a contest between reactionary Hinduism and modern Western ideas as exemplified by British rule.

THUS LORD MESTON, former British representative of India in the Imperial War Cabinet, and from 1912 to 1918 governor of the provinces of Agra and Oudh, speaking before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown. He brushed aside the "mottoes about freedom being the birthright of men" (in the land which counts the Declaration of Independence as the charter of its liberties) and "many of the other passports of ordinary democracy." These he cynically described as "useful texts for fervent oratory to impress an outer world," only to explain that behind it all was "the insurmountable aversion of an ancient theocracy from our modern ideals of liberty and equality." This defense is coupled with regret that Hindu propaganda in the United States should so completely blanket the British presentation of its side of the case. There we must disagree with the noble lord of Dunottar. It is the British propaganda which blinds people here. But it assuredly will not be helped by his avowal that democracy and liberty are words applying only to Anglo-Saxons, nor by his assertion that Gandhi is "the foe of real progress" in India. Meanwhile, Gandhi stands fast. Nothing definite has come of the prison conferences there, and in a remarkable uncensored article, published August 18, Webb Miller, of the United Press, reports that "British trade in India is being slowly strangled to death," and is "suffering progressive paralyzation. Mills are closing, ships are lying idle, large orders are being canceled, huge stocks are encumbering warehouses, profits are evaporating."

THE FAMINE IN CHINA has already killed 5,000,000 people, according to Mr. Grover Clark, former editor of the Peking *Leader,* and at least another 2,000,000 will be dead before the next crops come in. Yet American business interests have been unwilling to set up a Chinese credit for the purchase of food supplies, and last September the central committee of the American Red Cross decided against entering upon famine relief in China, largely on the grounds that the famine is not a natural calamity but the result of internal political dissensions, and that the existing political disorder renders relief from the outside impracticable. In regard to the first contention, the fact is that for three consecutive seasons very small crops or no crops at all have been harvested in China's vast northwest owing to the scarcity of rainfall. As for the second, the China International Famine Relief Commission stated last November that "in its actual administration of relief the . . . commission has received the cooperation of the Chinese authorities to the fullest extent." Relief will be urgently needed until the fall harvest, and later if the drought should continue. And, for the future, prevention is possible in the shape of projects that would harness the rivers in time of flood and permit irrigation in time of drought. The China International Famine Relief Commission has the plans and personnel for such a program, and past experience indicates that the Chinese would redouble their efforts if the initial funds were provided. Contributions should be sent to: China Famine Relief, 205 East Forty-second St., New York.

JOHN S. SUMNER is making trouble again. This time he has seized upon the republication by Simon and Schuster of Arthur Schnitzler's "Casanova's Homecoming." He has filed a complaint and carried off nearly 500 copies of the book. Now, "Casanova's Homecoming" was published several years ago without any successful interference, a city magistrate having held it to be "a distinct contribution to the literature of the present day." Already it ranks as a classic and it was republished largely because the original edition was exhausted. We cannot imagine a book less open to the usual charges of obscenity than this nor one more calculated to fill the reader with loathing for the life that Casanova led. Even at the moment of his triumph over the woman he persecuted, the author represents Casanova as a base and horrible old man revolting in his personality and his acts. In no other country, we believe, would such a prosecution be permitted, but then in no other country would a society like Mr. Sumner's be given a quasi-official status—or one that appears to officials to smack of authority. That so reputable a firm should be compelled to go to the expense and bother of defending itself against so baseless a charge is the height of injustice. At least the legislature should see to it that whenever one of Mr. Sumner's prosecutions fail, as this one surely will, he and his society could be held for damages.

WHERE, OH WHERE is the sea serpent? All through the hot, dry days of July and August we have looked in vain for his appearance, and have finally been rewarded by nothing better than a giant octopus snatching a bathing slipper off the foot of an American girl swimming alone in the Sea of Marmora, and a 6,000-pound baby finback whale towing a fifty-foot boat about for four hours off Montauk Point. Now a giant Turkish octopus is all right in his way, though we submit that he will find an American girl's bathing slipper a wholly unsatisfactory and inadequate meal, and we have no objection to a three-months-old three-ton baby whale as such; but the two of them together constitute no substitute for the sea serpents that always used to appear off our coasts in the good old summertime. Now that the tariff is out of the way and the drought is relieved, can we not have a commission for the preservation and promotion of sea serpents?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The "New Tammany" Again

NEW YORK has been treated this spring and summer to a series of scandals remarkable only for the fact that those chiefly discredited this time are judicial officials. One magistrate has just been sentenced to seven years in jail for misuse of the mails in a stock swindle. Another, Magistrate Ewald, has barely escaped indictment for a transaction which pointed toward his purchase of his judicial office. Still another has been driven out of public life. Others are suspect. Curiously enough, in the case of Magistrate Ewald, a Tammany district attorney cited the ex-boss of Tammany Hall, Mr. Olvany, and no less a person than Mayor Walker himself for cross-questioning as to whether Mr. Ewald had paid for his office. After putting some questions—not too searching, or too rough or unkind or inquisitive—the district attorney turned the case over to the grand jury, which refused to indict. Public protest, however, against the grand jury's failure to act has now compelled the district attorney to recede and the governor to look into the case.

Now while it may be novel to have a Tammany district attorney cross-examining a Tammany mayor as to whether or not one of his appointees purchased his judicial office, it is not surprising that there has been a suspicion that the charge was true, for this very practice has been common enough in the past. Investigations undertaken by the legislature have again and again revealed this very thing. It was hardly surprising therefore that when it appeared that the wife of the magistrate in question had loaned $10,000 through a Tammany henchman to a Tammany district leader, in order to aid the latter to buy a summer residence, just when the judge became a judge, suspicious and unkind persons of long memories should have recalled the case of one police inspector, long the czar of the "Tenderloin" district in New York, who developed a penchant for buying lots in Japan out of his slender salary. These busybodies remembered, too, that a certain judge, later a well-known ambassador, admitted to an investigating committee that he had put $50,000 into a Tammany campaign fund about the time he got his judgeship; subsequently he put $13,000 into his party's national war chest and drew out the plum of a first-class embassy.

Scandals are endemic in any organization which is held together by the cohesive power of public plunder. It is certainly not without precedent that the versatile mayor of the metropolis has had to summon the heads and chief officials of two of his departments and give them a vigorous berating—a good stage play to put himself in right with the community if it accomplishes nothing else. The truth is, of course, that Tammany is and remains Tammany. All the talk about there being a "new Tammany," purged of its sins by a noble Al Smith, was bosh and nothing else. We said at the time, and we repeat it now, that if there is any difference between the new and the old Tammany it is that the present organization is out for bigger victims and larger spoils. It no longer looks to the prostitute, the petty gambler, and the saloon-keeper for its revenue. It finds easier and better ways. So we have the huge sewer scandals in the Borough of Queens and the amazingly interesting appearance of a simple and modest veterinarian, Dr. W. F. Doyle, whose expert knowledge of animal diseases gave him such great influence over the Board of Standards and Appeals that everyone who wished buildings exempted from the zoning laws or some other burdensome regulation ran at once to the doughty "vet" for aid. Help was never denied—provided the retaining fee was big enough. It usually was. Indeed, on one day alone, witnesses who had through his kind offices been relieved of zoning restrictions or fire orders and obtained garages or filling stations in forbidden territory testified that they had paid him no less than $77,145. For the years 1927, 1928, and 1929 he received considerably more than $364,062 in fees, which is, of course, much more worth while than treating spavins or distemper.

While revelations like these are almost as regular as the movement of the planets, the question again suggests itself as to what New York is going to do about it. The city has made marvelous progress in many ways, such as in the development of its parks and its social services. It is infinitely more farsighted than it used to be; it plans decades ahead for future wants. Still the waste and extravagance, the graft and corruption go on. The city grows more and more beautiful; inwardly its very heart is being corroded, while the taxes wrung from the city's inhabitants are very far indeed from producing a hundred cents of value for the dollar. And still there is no determined effort on the part of the citizenry to bring about a scientific administration of the second-greatest city in the world, an administration free from the everlasting curse of politics. Other cities, like Cincinnati and Cleveland, may have their city managers; the former has just done itself the honor to call Dr. Clarence A. Dykstra from Los Angeles to direct the affairs of that city with a completely free hand. But no one in New York advocates a similar development—not the Bar Association, nor the Chamber of Commerce, nor the Board of Trade, nor the Merchants' Association.

We are aware, of course, that there will be those to say that any such change would carry with it the terrible admission that democracy is a failure. Yet Cincinnati, for example, still has a mayor who presides over the common council and duly receives the suffrages of his fellow-citizens. The point, after all, is that city administration has reached such complexity and, as in the case of New York, such vastness that it should always be the business of trained experts. At the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia last week Mr. Will Durant brought up anew the suggestion that public officials should attend schools of administration before becoming eligible for office. That may or may not be a practical suggestion. Certainly the hour more than ever calls for the establishment of the principle that civic administration should be as much a career in the United States as it is, for example, in Germany. We cannot despair of New York or any other American city when so many municipalities have turned to the city manager, and with success. We hope that despite corrupt politicians and business men the largest cities will follow suit.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is It Another War?

NO intelligent person has a right to feel surprised at the prediction made the other day by an English speaker at the Williamstown Institute of Politics that another big war is to be looked for between 1935 and 1940. Ever since the Allies forced upon Germany and the other defeated Powers the hateful peace terms of 1919, it has been clear to everybody who cared to see that unless the wrongs then inflicted were redressed and the forces of vengeance which the treaties let loose and magnified were destroyed, it was only a question of time when the world would again be at war. Professor C. Delisle Burns may or may not be right in indicating a date; the precise date does not matter. The important thing is to realize that another war is preparing, and that nothing short of herculean effort by the friends of peace can prevent its arrival.

What, in substance, are the conditions that are breeding war? The essence of the political situation in Europe today is the existence, as the direct result of the peace treaties, of territorial and political arrangements which can be maintained only by force. The most obvious evidences of this fact are the offensive and defensive alliances which France has industriously built up with the new states of Eastern Europe, and the Little Entente which certain of those states have formed among themselves. Only by standing together can France and the succession states hope to retain the political control over Germany and Austria which they wrested from the Peace Conference. How unnatural is their position and how great their fear that they may lose it appear clearly enough in the extreme irritation occasioned in France by the recent intimation by Italy and Germany that the peace treaties must be revised, and the heated resentment of France and Poland over some indiscreet remarks of a German minister, Herr Treviranus.

Hence the extraordinary spectacle of loud or fervent professions of peace balanced by systematic preparations for war. In spite of the League of Nations, in spite of Locarno and the Paris anti-war pact, the nations that fought Germany in 1914-18, or that profited by the defeat of Germany and Austria in those years, are getting ready to fight again. Armies and navies, air forces, land and seacoast defenses, chemical warfare, the organization of industry for the production of war materials, the formulation of plans of campaign—all these familiar incidents of "preparedness" are being more sedulously attended to today than at any time since the World War armies were demobilized, especially in the United States. It is idle to protest that this intense activity and huge financial outlay are designed only to meet the needs of national or international police or the aggression of some nation that may lose its head and run amuck. What is going on is deliberate preparation for war, and for a war whose justification will be found in the necessity of maintaining by force a treaty arrangement which could not otherwise last a year.

What, if anything, can be done to fend off the catastrophe? There is little to be hoped for in declarations of good intentions. No more solemn renunciation of war has been or can be made than that contained in the Kellogg-Briand anti-war pact, yet that pact is being openly flouted by every important nation that subscribed to it. Nothing is to be gained by affecting to see a dawning millennium in the conclusion of treaties whose underlying purpose, once they are scrutinized, is only to make an unholy peace more secure. Of all the agencies ever set up for the cultivation of international good-will the League of Nations has proved itself one of the feeblest, and the World Court can only sanctify what the Paris negotiators decreed.

The possibility of averting another war lies in other directions. Much may be done by unsparing exposure of the forces, especially the political forces, that are working for war. A generation ago the ambitions of imperial Germany were the greatest single menace to world peace. Today that role is played by France and its allies, and by Italy with its plans for combating France in Eastern Europe. There must be unyielding resistance to every legislative or executive action that looks toward an increase of armaments or industrial organization for war. There must be insistence, wherever and whenever a plea for justice can be heard, that the peace treaties shall, as soon as possible, be revised. Not all the wrongs of the peace can now be righted, but many of them can, and until they are the world will try in vain to build a stable peace on injustice or to make vengeance and plunder, if they are well stuck to, comport with international fellowship. It will be no light task to accomplish any of these things; nothing but concerted effort can make an effective impression upon any of them; but unless they are accomplished we cannot hope to escape another war.

Tom Thumb Golf

THE rise of Tom Thumb golf, the latest device for taking the American mind off its troubles, took place imperceptibly and with great rapidity. It originated, no doubt, in the country club, where members from time immemorial have practiced their drives or their putting in that long pre-dinner hour when the sun is not quite gone but is too low to permit of an eighteen-hole or even a nine-hole round. As Tom Thumb golf, the game is said to have started in Los Angeles, where it immediately and inevitably contracted elephantiasis americana. Reports have it that there are now nearly a thousand miniature courses in operation or under construction in and about Los Angeles—though, incidentally, it should be remembered that the vacant lots of Los Angeles may lie anywhere between San Francisco on the north and San Diego on the south, the realtors of Los Angeles being men of vision if nothing else.

From Los Angeles miniature golf jumped to Florida, and came north this spring with the polo ponies and other regalia of fashion. But it has long since spread down to the lower regions of society, and the golf ball, formerly protected from *hoi polloi* by tight wrappings of exclusive country clubs and expensive paraphernalia, hobnobs as familiarly with green-and-white sport shoes from Fourteenth Street as with the highest-priced golf leathers from Oxford Street.

In New York, where vacant lots are scarce, miniature golf has gone indoors and it is rumored that a movie theater is shortly to be transformed into a course. It is further reported that the little game has already been groomed into a big racket by certain enterprising elements. Just what form

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of protection a racketeer could sell to a Tom Thumb proprietor is hard to imagine, though with time and trouble one might put dynamite into the golf balls. In Denver and in one of the New Jersey towns multiplication of Tom Thumb courses has been somewhat slowed up by the infliction of a yearly license fee of $50. In another Jersey town a minister attempted to prevent by law the laying out of a course near his church, pleading that he did not wish profanity, which he considered as much a part of the game as the putter, within hearing of his pulpit. Whether he succeeded we have not yet heard. We suspect that he failed.

There are others who view with alarm the spread of miniature golf. The devotees of baseball see in it another threat to the popularity of what was once the national sport. They say that the small-town American boy, the raw material from which big-league stars are fashioned, is no longer catching flies and breaking the neighbors' windows; that what corner lots have not been given over to bunkers and artificial-grass production boast no third base, while tall weeds grow where once the outfield stood. The boys are caddying on the local links and picking up the virus of golf. This miniature epidemic will finish baseball and establish golf as the new national sport.

Be that as it may, we suspect that spectator attendance at the country's ball parks has fallen off this summer in favor of the Tom Thumb course around the corner. For there one may not only be a fence watcher for nothing and without blame, but may even play oneself at not much expense. Besides, the sport goes on from early morning until late at night. And when the pseudo-Klieg lights are playing full upon the humble householder from Hackensack, he may not only experience that comfortable country-club feeling superinduced by drooping plus fours and prehistoric posture; he may also be able to capture the illusion that he is John Barrymore at work.

One school of thought calls the miniature game a fad: still another holds that it is a step back toward Victorianism and croquet, both of which have already been taken into the side yard by some of the intelligentsia. If this is true, may we look forward to that long-wished-for depopulation of the city, not for the reason that one must cultivate one's garden, but because one must have one's nine holes before breakfast?

The reasons projected for the rise of Tom Thumb golf are many and varied. The search for superiority is one. Golf is a gentleman's game—and who does not crave at least the accouterments of gentlemanliness? But golf links require many acres of rolling turf, and rolling turf is very scarce and beyond hope expensive. Aside from the expense of country-club dues there is the matter of the size of the American city. In Westchester County, for instance, there are fifty-eight private and public golf courses. But in the metropolitan area there are almost nine and a half million people.

Whatever the reason, the little golf links are with us, heart-shaped numbers, hazardous papier mache rocks, composition grass, and all. Whether they will constitute only a temporary form of farm relief or a permanent addition to our world of sport remains to be seen. In conclusion we pass on the tale of a traveler lately returned from Long Island who says that he saw a Tom Thumb "gardener" with real hose and real water sprinkling the false grass!

The Poor Old Theater

THE talkies and the stage are now so nearly alike in their requirements that actors and actresses move rapidly in both directions. Former screen favorites planning to act on the stage this fall are Mary Pickford, Colleen Moore, Lya de Putti, Vilma Banky, and Rod La Rocque. As salaries in the talkies are so much higher, it is safe to assume that most of those returning to the legitimate drama have been obliged to take the step because of waning screen popularity. A few are foreign actors and actresses imported during the era of the silent pictures, and now suddenly obliged to try to cure themselves of their foreign accent.

Perhaps this emphasizes the element of truth in George Bernard Shaw's recent lament that "the poor old theater is done for" and may survive only "as a place where people are taught to act." That the poor old theater is completely done for we cannot believe; the reports of its death have been exaggerated too often. But it is at least clear by now that the threat of the talkies is both a real and a growing one. A year or more ago those critics who maintained that the talking pictures were even more puerile on the average than their silent predecessors could show a good deal of plausible evidence to support their contention, but since that time there has been remarkable improvement both in technical resources and in the use of those resources by directors. It is true that the stage still has advantages (that of the direct contact of the actor with his audience is one which the talkies will never capture), but the talkies, on their side, already have great technical superiorities over the stage. They have, to begin with, nearly every advantage the silent pictures had—of unlimited outdoor action, real galloping horses, speeding locomotives, automobiles, airplanes, ships, mob and battle scenes, natural scenery instantaneously shiftable, unusual "angles," enlargement and selection of physical detail—plus not only the voice and natural sounds as on the stage, but the free manipulation of sounds—to portray, for example, the mental state of a character. As the public can see the talkies for approximately one-fifth of what it pays for orchestra seats on Broadway, the future of the ordinary commercial theater does not seem particularly bright.

Two factors, it is true, seriously limit the competition of the talkies with the stage, as they limited that of the silent screen. The first of these is the commercial need to reach the lowest common intellectual denominator of a great mass audience; the second is a drastic and stupid censorship. Yet the recent appearance of "All Quiet," "Journey's End," "The Love Parade," "The Man from Blankley's," and "Holiday" shows that it is possible for intelligent or sophisticated pictures to emerge even under these conditions. And the intellectual level of the average stage play, it should not be forgotten, is not distressingly high. If the legitimate stage is to survive (as we think it will), it will have to appeal to a more intelligent audience than the talkies and it will have to take much greater commercial risks. In brief, it will have to become "experimental," to bear much the same relation to the talkies as such an institution as the Theater Guild was originally intended to bear to the ordinary commercial theater on Broadway.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communism in China

By MAXWELL S. STEWART

Shanghai, July 15

THERE is now in China, as the outside world knows, a widespread, well-organized revolt against the military dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek. This is being conducted under the combined leadership of General Yen Hsi-shan, who has been for eighteen years governor of the "model province" of Shansi; Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, the so-called Christian general; and General Chang Fa-kwei, who is commander of the famous "iron army" and who is himself allied with the "Kwangsi clique" who have been trying desperately to gain control of Canton during the past year.

But in the midst of the intrigue and struggle between rival military cliques there has been under way among the people a far more significant movement, which has virtually escaped the attention of writers both here and abroad. Communism, which was apparently dealt its deathblow three years ago, has reappeared greatly strengthened by the internal discord of the war lords, and today no less than one-twentieth of the people of China rule themselves through local organizations resembling soviets. This revolution has consisted primarily of local peasant revolts in isolated sections of the country, but today there is a strong red army, which is said to number 100,000 men, well intrenched throughout the regions of the middle Yangtze in the very heart of China. This new movement, unlike the revolution of 1927, appears to be indigenous in character, for although the tactics are much the same as those used in the Russian Revolution, there has been apparently no active Russian aid in the present effort. The absence of Russian aid is to be ascribed probably not to lack of interest but to the fact that during the recent Sino-Soviet difficulties all Russian citizens were either withdrawn from the country or requested to leave. It may be that the forced withdrawal of the Soviet advisers has done more than anything else to strengthen the movement, for the Chinese are notably suspicious of foreigners in politics.

These peasant revolts are by no means a new phenomenon in China. It has been said that every revolution in China's three thousand years has been an agrarian revolution. The peasants were the backbone of the Nationalist upheaval in 1927, and it was only after they had been disarmed and scattered that Chiang Kai-shek was able to stage the coup d'etat by which he wrested control of the central government from the civilian groups which were in power at Hankow. Later in 1927 a number of violent agrarian outbreaks, which were put down with great bloodshed, occurred throughout South China. However, in isolated cases the revolutionists were able to organize, even at that time, relatively stable local soviets, which in some few cases have persisted down to the present time. These peasant revolts have been breaking out with increasing frequency throughout the country. Gradually the isolated sections in which they have occurred, particularly in South and Central China, have been brought under a semblance of centralized control, until today a large part of eight provinces has fallen under soviet rule.

The Chinese farmer is probably the most law-abiding man on earth, but he has definitely fixed ideas as to how much taxation and how much looting he ought to put up with before banding together with his fellows against his enemies. The Communists have been quick to utilize the seething discontent of the peasants and have transformed disorganized upheavals into organized revolts of a definitely revolutionary character.

So well, indeed, has the organization progressed that the first All-China Soviet Congress was held in Shanghai on May 1, 1930. It was attended by fifty-four delegates from the soviet districts and from Communist organizations throughout the country. There were eleven representatives from district soviets which are actively functioning in sections of Kwangsi, Kwantung, West Fukien, East Hupeh, West Hupeh, North Fukien, Southwest Kiangsi, South Anwei, also in a district where the three provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, and Kiangsi join, and a district along the border of Hupeh and Honan. There were likewise seven representatives from districts which were planning to rise in the provinces of Kiangsu, Anwei, Honan, Chekiang, and Kiangsi. There were eighteen representatives from the more militant trade unions, and seven from the red army—one delegate from each of seven of the nine army corps. The others were divided among such revolutionary organizations as the League of Communist Youth, the Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers, and the Anti-Imperialist League. It is significant that one of the delegates was only sixteen years of age; the oldest one was only forty-eight.

The congress discussed such practical issues as what should be the task of these soviet districts in view of the present political situation in China. It passed a temporary land law. An ad interim code of labor laws was drawn up and regulations were passed for the guidance of all soviet organizations. The task and tactics of the red army were formally debated and decided upon. A political platform was drawn up embodying ten points, including the following: overthrow of imperialism and the socialization of all banks, factories, and railways; destruction of militarism in China; seizure of land from the landlords without compensation and the introduction of collective farming; abolition of all taxation except a single tax on land; freedom of press and speech and the full right of assembly; the right of self-determination for the minor nationalities included within the Republic of China.

The strength of the Communist movement does not lie entirely with the peasants. There is the red army referred to above, numbering approximately 100,000 men, which is reputed to be a reasonably effective body. There are said to be 5,000,000 workers in the red trade unions which are dominated by Communist leadership. In the city of Shanghai alone I could name no less than nineteen proletarian magazines and periodicals which are published regularly by left-wing organizations.

The strength of the Communists in the cities has been greatly enhanced by the fact that the price of rice has risen to the unheard of figure of $23 a picul—almost twice the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

normal price. Wages have not gone up proportionately. Moreover, China has probably been hit harder by the phenomenal fall in the value of the silver dollar than she has by all the civil wars and revolutions she has passed through. Within the short period of one year the silver dollar, the national currency of China, has depreciated to little more than half its former value in terms of the currencies on a gold basis. In addition to the suffering resulting from high prices and depreciation of the currency, taxes have been further increased and customs rates have been raised in order to pay for the civil warfare.

As a result of the civil strife the government has seemed to lose its grip, and although formerly thousands were executed upon even the slightest suspicion of Communist sympathies, today the radicals seem to be working more or less openly with impunity. Just today the Anti-Imperialist League, a strong proletarian organization, held a big demonstration on Nanking Road, Shanghai, on the very site of the famous massacre of May 30, 1925. The writer happened to be on the street when two large groups of students, both girls and boys, suddenly appeared shouting slogans at the top of their voices and distributing handbills. No sooner had they put in their appearance than they were charged by a group of armed policemen twice their number, who dispersed them after arresting several of the participants. For a few minutes, however, it looked almost like a repetition of the incident of five years ago, on which occasion the police fired into the mob and killed several students, thereby igniting the Nationalist revolution.

According to the press reports, agitators staged simultaneous demonstrations in two other places on Nanking Road, and altogether twenty-four of them were arrested by the police, while several hundred participated in the demonstration. Indirectly this affair is the outgrowth of the profound labor unrest which has gripped Shanghai as the result of the increasing cost of living coupled with the fact that a number of the largest cotton mills have been compelled to work on a half-time basis only. However, it is significant that today's agitation was directed chiefly against the rival Chinese war lords rather than against the foreign mill-owners. The following is a free translation of a typical example of the leaflets distributed:

> Workers, strike! Peasants, rise in revolt! Soldiers, mutiny! Down with the Militarists! Oppose the second World War! Down with the imperialistic Kuomintang! Down with the northern "Reorganizationists!" Support Soviet Russia!

Another reads:

> Revolt! Organize Soviets! Take over the land from the landlords! Organize a "Ready-to-Die" Corps among the youth! Oppose rent and loans! Distribute food equally! Join the Red Army!

The Communist movement which I have described has as yet enlisted the support of only a small minority of the Chinese people—it could be suppressed in a very brief time if the various militarists would stop quarreling among themselves long enough to attend to the matter. And yet there seems to be no other promise of unity. There has been a progressive disintegration in China ever since the 1927 revolution. The Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party, seems to have very little power today, and the left wing of that party under the revolutionary leader Wang Ching-wei has failed to find any support which would enable it to return to power. The civilian leaders of the Nationalist revolution, Eugene Chen, Madame Sun Yat-sen, and Wang Ching-wei, are not only out of power, but are scattered over the earth.

Paradoxically enough, the gloom which has hung over the country since the failure of the 1927 revolution seems to be lifting now, and there is a widespread feeling that out of the chaos there will yet come some sort of stability. Throughout the twenty years of anarchy which have followed the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty there has been a steady change in the social and economic basis of Chinese society. A modernization of outlook and habits has taken place among millions in the great cities and points of cultural contact. This process of growth and development has been hindered but not greatly retarded by political chaos, and there is every reason for feeling that sooner or later political stability also will be achieved. How or when that will come it is impossible to say, but in view of the lack of alternatives, the significance of the gradually spreading soviet movement must not be overlooked. The very fact that twenty million peasants have held the rule in their own hands, even temporarily, is bound to influence greatly the future development of China—whether for better or for worse only time can tell.

Much will depend upon the attitude of the foreign Powers. One hears the not unlikely rumor that the Powers are not unfavorable to Nanking's suggestion of joint military action against the soviet armies. In fact, the French have already cooperated with the Chinese government in suppressing an agrarian outbreak near the Indo-China border. American and British gunboats have exchanged fire with the red armies on the upper Yangtze 700 miles in the interior of China. But the outcome of such an intervention is questionable. There is no doubt that in a straight military engagement the Powers could crush any army the Communists could muster, but it is very unlikely that the reds would allow themselves to be brought into an open encounter. Instead, their tactics to date have been those of guerilla warfare coupled with the judicious use of the strike and boycott. Moreover, the writer is inclined to believe that even though the Powers were invited by Nanking, intervention would be followed by such intense anti-foreign feeling that the results might be directly opposite to those desired.

Orchard

By GLENN WARD DRESBACH

Earth could not hold all richness that was there—
Although the cheeks of hiding apples flushed
Deep down in billowed grasses. On the air
The warm spiced breath of fruit and juices crushed
From mint by secret weight had joined the gold
Late sunlight dusted through the glow of trees . . .
His baskets were so full some apples rolled
Back to the taverns of convivial bees.

The drifting milkweed floss had tried to stay
A little longer—on the thorns it clung.
And cobwebs brushed him as he turned away
To jestful smoke of apple wood that hung
Above his chimney and the crimson leaves
That fell where swallows darted from his eaves.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Packers' Plea

By ROBERT V. BEGLEY

THE petitions of Swift and Company and Armour and Company which are now pending in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, asking for modification of a decree which they consented to in 1920 are a matter of large public importance. This decree virtually required the packers to confine their activities to the meat-packing business; it required them to dispose of their interests in the public stockyards, stockyards terminal railways, and newspapers, and to keep out of the retail meat and grocery fields.

In the ten years which have elapsed since the decree was filed, practically nothing has been done toward carrying out its provisions. During the first four years of its existence some efforts were made in that direction. In 1924 the packers instituted proceedings to have the decree vacated. This litigation was ended in March, 1928, when the Supreme Court of the United States held the decree to be in all respects valid and binding.

The petitions for modification emphasize the fact that the packers are enjoined from engaging in a perfectly legitimate business and are thus deprived of rights which all other citizens possess. It is inferred that this is discrimination. As an inducement for removing the restrictions, it is suggested that no abuse can result from the packers' ownership of the stockyards and stockyards terminal railways because of the "complete and efficacious supervision and control" now exercised by the Secretary of Agriculture under the Packers and Stockyards Act. It is also asserted that the packers cannot survive, and that posterity will be deprived of the many delectable delicacies they dispense, unless they are permitted to compete with the chain stores in the retail meat and grocery fields. As a final inducement, it is urged that both producers and consumers will benefit if the packers are permitted to operate retail meat markets.

The present proceeding is decidedly anomalous. It presents a curious blending of public and private interest. Although it is addressed to the judicial power, there is nothing to litigate and nothing to adjudicate. In so far as private-property rights of the petitioners are involved, it might be regarded as an appeal for executive clemency. To the extent that public interests are concerned, it might be regarded as an appeal for judicial legislation. Unless there has been a signal miscarriage of justice the protection of the public interests should be the paramount consideration.

In fairness to the packers, it cannot be said that they are in the position of the ordinary criminal who has entered a plea of guilty. A consent decree is analogous to a plea of guilty in a criminal proceeding, but applied to the packers the analogy is rather severe. They were charged with the offense of conspiring to monopolize a large portion of the food supplies of the nation, and under the federal statutes this is merely a misdemeanor. Furthermore, it was expressly stipulated that the packers were inspired to consent to the decree because of a desire to avoid any appearance of antagonism to the government and that their consent was not to be regarded as an admission of guilt. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the glamor of patriotism which enveloped the original proceeding was thoroughly dissipated by the packers' subsequent openly antagonistic attitude toward the government. And it must also be remembered that the decree operated to forestall impending legislation and that it was not nearly so drastic as the Federal Trade Commission recommended.

The Packers and Stockyards Act which was enacted in 1921 was originally regarded as a very fine piece of legislation. It survived the usual test of constitutionality, although the strain on the commerce clause of the Constitution was rather severe. Shortly after its enactment its limitations were disclosed in an opinion by Attorney General Daugherty holding that it did not embrace private stockyards. Since that time the number of hogs purchased by the packers in private yards has increased tremendously, and Congress, although memorialized by the legislatures of at least four States, has not extended the act to include these private stockyards.

The act operated to transfer the packers from the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission to that of the Secretary of Agriculture. As the commission had been accused of possessing pink tendencies, the packers undoubtedly found the change a welcome one. The act in no way affected the packers' ownership of the principal stockyards. This ownership, the Federal Trade Commission held, was not only a source of great profit but also afforded a fundamental business advantage. At a later date the commission expressed the opinion that no matter how efficiently the law might be enforced, uniformity of opportunity could not be attained so long as the most powerful and dominating of the various competitors retained possession. Subsequent to the enactment of the law the Minnesota Supreme Court held that the stockyards owners had a discretion of management in the control of the yards not lightly to be interfered with by the judiciary. The federal Circuit Court of Appeals held that the Secretary of Agriculture is not empowered by the act to examine and copy a packer's books and records. Subject to these limitations, the law undoubtedly provides some measure of control. Whether it may properly be regarded as "complete and efficacious" is at least debatable.

The packers have appended to their petitions the resolutions of twenty-seven farm organizations favoring modification of the decree. It must be assumed that these organizations concur in the packers' claim that the control exercised by the Secretary of Agriculture is complete and efficacious. Apparently they have also been convinced that entry of the packers into the retail fields will mean higher prices for their live stock. Whether they really believe that it will mean lower prices to the consumer is problematical. For the interests of the army of retailers whom Swift and Armour propose to force out of business the farmers seem to have no concern.

The attitude of the farmers is surprising. The consent decree offered them an opportunity far surpassing the benefits of the Packers and Stockyards Act. It offered them an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opportunity to acquire the stockyards. Controlling interests might have been purchased from owners who were forced to sell, who had no substantial investment involved, and who had voluntarily depreciated the value of the properties by impairing business conditions therein. Acquisition of the yards by the farmers would have been directly in line with the program of the Farmers' Union, which asserts that the farmers can have no voice in fixing the prices of their products until they control the marketing instrumentalities. The organizations which have rallied to the support of the packers apparently prefer to rely upon a vague promise of benefits to be effected by exterminating the present retailers, which benefits are to be shared, presumably, in some measure with the consumers.

It is alleged in the petitions that the great development of the chain stores in recent years has placed the packers in a serious position. The trouble seems to lie in the fact that the chain stores are sufficiently powerful to have a voice in fixing the prices they will pay for the packers' products. In fact, this is expressly admitted. The Armour petition states with reference to the Kroger Company:

> Such concern is intrenched in a position where within the next few years it may very easily eliminate a great number of competitor retail meat markets which are the customers of these defendants, and at the same time be in a position to capitalize their large purchasing power and dictate as to the prices which they will pay for the defendants' products.

Obviously, the packers wish to avoid the unhappy plight of the farmers who must sell their live stock to purchasers who can and do dictate prices.

It is difficult to credit the assertions that Armour and Swift cannot survive unless permitted to enter the retail fields. Wilson and Company and the Cudahy Packing Company are two former members of the Big Five who are subject to the decree but are not seeking modification. It would seem that if Swift and Armour are as badly situated as they claim to be, the two smaller packers must be in a much worse situation. It appears on the contrary, however, that neither Cudahy nor Wilson is concerned about the future. Both of these firms definitely opposed previous proposals for modification and neither of them is party to the present proceedings. Thomas Creigh, general attorney for the Cudahy Company, is quoted as saying that reinstatement of the decree will have no appreciable effect upon the business or assets of his company.

Neither do the affairs of Swift and Armour appear to be in a serious condition. It appears that Swift and Company earned $8.72 per share for the year ended November 2, 1929, and $9.88 per share for the fiscal year ended November 3, 1928. It is true, however, that Mr. Swift was not satisfied. He said: "We are not going to be satisfied in the future with similar financial returns. We shall not be satisfied unless we earn a substantial margin over our dividends of $8 per share annually." The stockholders of Swift and Company, at the annual meeting on January 9, 1930, voted to split up the capital stock of the company from 1,500,000 shares at $100 par into 6,000,000 shares at $25 par. The new shares have a book value of $37.50. This change was made so that a wider distribution of the shares might be attained. Presumably the new stockholders would look with favor upon modification of the decree.

President White, head of Armour and Company, has been publicly quoted in the Boston *News Bureau* as saying: "Company has attained an enviable position as regards assets, liabilities, and working capital." The *Wall Street Journal* within the year has announced that the Pittsburgh Provision and Packing Company at Hirr's Island, the largest independent meat-packing plant in western Pennsylvania, has been acquired by Armour and Company.

Assuming there is no immediate danger of the Big Two passing from the business world, the public may safely consider the other aspects of the case. There is the fate of the present retailers to be decided. And, infinitely more important, there is the fate of the consumers if the packers are permitted to engage in a struggle for supremacy with the chain stores—a contest which will inevitably result in a compromise.

According to the Swift petition, the chain stores now do in excess of 35 per cent of all retail grocery business for the entire country and 19 per cent of the retail meat business. If these figures are correct, it follows that the great bulk of the business is still in the hands of independent merchants. These are the men who marketed Swift and Armour products in the past and who made it possible for the packers to acquire wealth and power. As a class they are honest, respectable, law-abiding citizens, influential leaders in their own communities, and they typify the spirit of rugged individualism eulogized by President Hoover.

It seems they have outlived their usefulness. "The individual retailer is passing," says Armour. "The chain store," says Swift, "is now but an infant in swaddling clothes and will in the near future acquire control of 90 per cent or even all of the retail business of the country." The advent of Swift and Armour into the retail field would, of course, hasten the end of the individual retailer. Apparently, in the estimation of the packers and the farmers, this would be of no consequence.

If the future of the two big packers were the only question presented, the problem would not be simple. With the fate of thousands of individual merchants also involved, it becomes increasingly difficult. When it is based upon the assumption that the food supplies of the nation must inevitably be concentrated in the hands of a few large interests, the problem becomes tremendous.

The responsibility appears to rest upon the judges of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. These men are asked, in effect, to legislate. To decree that the packers should for economic reasons be relieved of penalties authorized by the law of the land, and to the imposition of which they consented, is to legislate. To restore to the packers the weapons of monopoly of which they have been judicially deprived and to authorize them to inaugurate a trade war is to legislate.

The three departments of the government have already acted. The Congress enacted the anti-trust law. The Executive Department conducted an investigation and invoked the judicial power. The Supreme Court of the United States placed its stamp of approval upon the result. The action of the packers seems to imply that an equity court should be recognized as a fourth department, which may exercise the prerogative of a sovereign and adjust the conclusions of the other departments to conform with its own ideas of equity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Homicide on Wheels

By CARL DREHER

THE automobile has ruined the temper and manners of the people who use the highways. In the good old somnolent days people got around in carriages and buggies at an average speed of eight or ten miles an hour. When a fast team came up behind a slower one on a rural highway and the vehicle ahead gave way, the passing driver customarily tipped his hat in acknowledgment of the other man's courtesy in letting him by. When as a boy in up-state New York I was taught to drive, it was impressed on me that ordinary politeness required this gesture. Moreover, when a driver wanted to pass he did not make a noise about it; he simply followed close behind the other team until the man ahead became aware that passage was desired, whereupon he would generally turn out as soon as possible.

Contrast this procedure with the barbarities of present-day motoring and you will realize what the automobile has done to highway manners. Once a driver has gained facility, his manner of operating an automobile is an expression of his personality, like his style of making love, dictating to a stenographer, or asking his boss for a raise, and, unfortunately, too many motorists are barbarians. The go-getter fights for the right of way at unguarded crossings, slides past signals when he thinks he can get away with it, passes every car on the road, honks his horn at every opportunity, and abuses anyone who disputes his right to these enjoyments. The timid man, by lagging and hesitating in search of that perfect safety which is not to be found on this side of the grave, gets into trouble because of his very cowardice. The stolid, obstinate road hog, indignant at the notion that anyone should be allowed to do something he does not want to do, holds the center of the highway at twenty miles an hour, and yields grudgingly, if at all, to the driver who, perhaps with the utmost justification, wants to go forty. The sane, moderate, good-willed individual, the "forgotten man" of Professor Sumner, drives also according to his nature, but the automobile has made him rarer than ever, and he is at the mercy of every Yahoo that can get behind a steering wheel.

Examine a few of the ordinary practices on the road.

> Upon approaching a boulevard or through highway [reads the automobile duello] you must first come to a complete stop. Upon entering the boulevard you must yield or give the right of way to other vehicles within the intersection or approaching so closely to your left as to constitute an immediate hazard or danger should you proceed. After having so yielded, you may then proceed across the boulevard, and all other vehicles approaching you from either the left or right must then yield to you.

This is pure theory, like the rules of civilized warfare. In practice you may, indeed, stop at the curb line of the boulevard, but what happens after that is on the lap of the gods. You wait for an opening in the line of cars, which pass across the intersection haughtily at a speed ten miles an hour above whatever rate the police of the town prescribe. Another driver comes up behind you and immediately begins to honk his horn to force you to proceed. He is taking no risk himself and is entirely willing to see you killed so that he may not have to wait a quarter of a minute. You finally nose in, and the cars on your left come to a stop with varying uncertainty and squeaking of brakes. You are now in the middle of the highway and the oncoming cars on your right are legally bound to allow you to get across the rest of the way. Generally they will—when you make them. The unpleasant part about making them is that you have no bumpers on the sides of your car. The average driver on an express highway would not stop to let the Holy Trinity cross if he could help it.

Or you desire to execute a left turn on a well-traveled street. A block ahead of the place where you want to turn you have your hand out, making the prescribed signal, whereupon a string of fast drivers, honking frantically, dash past you in the middle or on the wrong side of the street, determined to get by before you can make the turn. Another amenity of he-man motoring consists in dashing into a signal-protected but officerless intersection at forty miles an hour and squeezing out cars already turning left and entitled to the right of way. The oncoming hog knows that few people will maintain this right with the possibility of a disastrous collision coming up, and he acts accordingly.

This is not merely a question of etiquette, however. Aside from all considerations of traffic density and other mechanical factors, the principal cause of automobile accidents is exactly this desuetude of decent manners on the part of a considerable section of the public. During 1929, in the United States alone, 33,000 persons were killed by automobiles and about 1,000,000 injured; and the fatalities are increasing at the rate of 13 per cent a year. These figures might be expected to result in something more than trade-paper lamentations, but the fact is that nobody cares much. The regulatory experts of the nation are occupied with the noble experiment and other moral crusades. "The motoring public (at least a considerable portion of it)," one editorial writer observes, "does not yet desire safety on the highways sufficiently to achieve it." And since the fundamental trouble lies with the people who drive, mechanistic remedies can only be partially effective.

Education can do something. In Southern California, where reckless driving is cultivated as a fine art, a sharp reduction in fatalities among children has been brought about by intensive safety campaigns in the schools. The Automobile Club of Southern California, which does a certain amount of damage to the cause of safety by getting its members off as conveniently as possible for moderate infractions of the code, including speeding, has not been derelict in organized efforts to make the highways safe in spite of Mr. Ford. The club editorializes valiantly and meets the rising accident rate with a barrage of slogans, safety-engineering surveys, reports, highway patrols, press releases, vigilance committees, and appeals to humanity. Having found, for example, that 70 per cent of the graver accidents occur at intersections, they exhort the gasoline Hotspurs of the vicinity to "Waste a minute—save a life!" while the few pedestrians

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

left on the country roads are advised, "Walk left—drive right." They even print accident diagnoses on the backs of their letterheads. These efforts should not be sneered at, for there is evidence that they are effective palliatives. Were it not for such measures it is likely that the Californians would do worse than kill 2,000 people annually, injure 60,000, and suffer $70,000,000 property damage, as a result of which their 1930 public-liability insurance rates rose 18 per cent on private automobiles and 12 per cent on commercial vehicles.

A genuine remedy at the source would be to set up more exacting conditions in the granting of operating licenses. The right to drive an automobile is not inalienable and many persons are totally unfit to exercise it. Almost anyone can learn to operate an automobile after a fashion, but it requires a sense of decency and a certain degree of judgment, as well as rapid reflexes, to operate one without becoming a menace to society. The sense of decency cannot be tested by examination, but the other traits can, and drivers' tests should cover these essential points. There are people, otherwise normal and socially valuable, whose reaction time is so high that to allow them to get behind the steering wheel of a car is equivalent to putting a loaded shotgun into the hands of a chimpanzee. An automobile driver need not have the temperamental and physical fitness of an airplane pilot, but some of the tests which airmen have to undergo, if honestly applied to automobile drivers, would lower traffic accidents to a decent level. Unfortunately, such a course would arouse the united opposition of the automobile fetishists, the high-pressure salesmen, the business boomers, and all the big and little fellows in the automobile industry, from the bankers behind the motor-manufacturing companies to the apprentices who screw on the bolts. As long as they can sell 5,000,000 cars a year, all is well for them in the best of all possible worlds.

Not that they are without plans to make it even better. These devout believers in the uncontrolled proliferation of machinery are about to sell the country on radio sets in automobiles. Several corporations, including one with a capitalization of $10,000,000, have been formed to exploit the automobile-radio field. When every Sunday motorist adds a radio outfit to his equipment, then indeed the machine millennium will be upon us. Of course some slight aggravation of the slaughter on the highways may be expected. Margins of safety, already reduced by inattention, will vanish entirely when a continuous stream of jazz, canned ballads, and success talks takes the driver's mind off the road. The chauffeur who can now hear through the window on his left the motor of an overtaking car which is already out of the field of his rear-view mirror will then be unable to hear anything but the radio set—unless he should veer to the left, when the crash of his car against the other will momentarily drown out the broadcasting. All good hundred-per-centers will be glad to pay such a small price for the blessings of prosperity.

Of course there are always pessimists and croakers who oppose the march of progress. Among these is the State Commissioner of Motor Vehicles of New Hampshire, who announces incontinently:

> New Hampshire is against automobiles equipped with radio which can be operated while the car is in motion. This department is satisfied that the greater percentage of accidents is due to inattention of drivers, and where a radio is being operated while the car is in motion it certainly would tend to divert the attention of the operator.

Such expressions of aberrant common sense cannot stop the billion-horse-power onrush of America Motorial, which, its arteries filled with red blood and its ears with the blare of loud speakers, will never pause so long as one hospital bed remains unoccupied or one ambulance stays in its garage of a Sunday.

The Profits of War

By FORREST REVERE BLACK

NOW that the London treaty has been duly ratified by the Senate and signed by President Hoover, the time is ripe for an examination of the so-called "preparedness program" of the Department of War of the United States. Through the courtesy of Major Mars of the United States Army the writer was given the opportunity of examining an official memorandum bearing the dates of March 5, 13, and 18, 1924, and relating to a little-known agreement under which the War Department for some years has been making contracts with manufacturers for supplies to be used in the next war. This agreement is called the War Department Adjustable Price Contract (for war or other national emergency) and its chief stipulations are as follows: The government assures the munition-maker capacity production; prices are to be determined at the time the goods are delivered on the basis of cost plus a "normal" profit; the contract is to become operative upon the declaration of war.

The aim of the War Department is to contract in advance for thousands of articles either directly or indirectly useful in case of war. No outsider can say how many signed contracts in pursuance of this aim are now filed in the vaults of the War Department at Washington. It is known that the whole country has been districted and that contracts have been made to furnish the seven supply branches of the army. And although the War Department has not seen fit to take either Congress or the American people into its confidence, Major Mars informs us that in the parceling out of valuable concessions to prospective purveyors of the nation for the next war the War Department has acted upon the advice of big business men and of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Three questions present themselves: (1) Are the contracts as drawn favorable to the government? (2) Is there any legal authority for the program? (3) Can the plan be justified as a preparedness measure against war?

We are assured in the memorandum that the contracts as drawn are favorable to the government. But what right has anyone to assume that the paper guaranty of a "normal" rate of profit will be effective? On this point the following considerations are significant. Why is big business willing to bind itself by this particular form of contract? If the War Department desired fully to protect the interests of the American people, why did it specifically provide "it is not contemplated that these proposals will necessarily be of a competitive nature"? One will examine the memorandum in vain to find any regulation or control in the parceling out of these concessions. Is it possible to conceive of a scheme

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more favorable to the development of monopolistic control of the vital necessities of the nation in the next war? The favored groups having the contract right to supply will take advantage of the war hysteria. Does anyone suppose that their patriotism will be of such an exalted nature that they will not act in concert and charge what the traffic will bear? Will not the government, under the circumstances, accept the big-business conception of a "normal" rate of profit?

There is no specific legal authority for this program of the War Department. The National Defense Act of June 3, 1916, as amended June 4, 1920, confers upon the Assistant Secretary of War the duties of business manager of the army. But Congress has delegated no power to the War Department to make contracts with prospective purveyors of war supplies assuring them capacity production at a price to be determined after hostilities have commenced and under non-competitive conditions. The War Department is obviously operating on the theory that, whether legal or not, the materials stipulated for in the contracts will be accepted by the government if war is declared and that Congress will pass the necessary validating legislation.

Can the plan be justified as a preparedness measure against war? The War Department blandly assures us that such is its sole aim and purpose. As a matter of fact, instead of being a form of insurance against war, the plan merely adds another powerful incentive for war as far as vested interests are concerned.

What is more, this "patriotic" arrangement is directly opposed to the movement which has been gaining ground ever since the World War and which has for its object the "taking of profit out of war." Suppose that a constitutional amendment providing for the conscription of wealth should be adopted. It would not be self-executing. Congress alone could give it vitality by the passing of appropriate legislation. What effect will the preparedness program of the War Department have on the Congress of the United States when it considers the enactment of legislation to carry out the policy of the amendment? The phrase "conscription of wealth" is ambiguous. Is the phrase synonymous with confiscation? The business interests who have bound themselves by War Department contracts are going to have a good case, especially in a time of war hysteria, when they plead in Congress that they should be protected by the guaranty of a "normal" rate of profit. When that plea is made, the fact that the War Department had no specific legal authority when it made the contract will not be germane. Big business is not in the habit of being gouged by a legal technicality. Thus, the so-called preparedness plan of our War Department not only affords free depression insurance; it also constitutes an admirable weapon which hard-headed business men will not be slow to use to prevent any real conscription of wealth in the next war.

Since the American army returned from the trans-Atlantic crusade, we have heard much about open diplomacy and the democratization of our war-making machinery. If the American people really desire to prevent a repetition of 1917-18 they ought to demand full information about this War Department alliance with business interests; for experience has proved over and over the dangers to peace that lurk in the profits of war.

In the Driftway

THERE has recently been discovered in southern Syria what is believed to be the oldest dictionary in the world. The seacoast city of Zapouna between 3000 and 2000 B.C. was an important commercial center peopled by prosperous merchants whose ships sailed many seas. It was ruled, so the researches indicate, by a princely family who lived in a palace befitting their state. In this palace was found a great library where apparently a school of scribes labored. Six languages were spoken in the busy city of Zapouna and it was the task of the scribes to inter-translate these languages, in order, presumably, that a business man of Zapouna, speaking the native dialect, should not be hindered by linguistic difficulties in striking a good bargain with one of the numerous merchants from Asia Minor who had settled in the city and spoke only Hittite, or with a ship's master fresh from Egypt in command of a desirable cargo. It was in this library that the archaeologists discovered the dictionary, along with other relics of an ancient chapter in the endless and compulsory devotion of mankind to words and the meaning of words. The Syrian "dictionary" consists of great tables of baked earth on which columns of words were traced. In a second column appear translations. On one tablet was found a list of synonyms opposite the words. Scribes in those days as in these struggled to avoid repetition.

* * * * *

THIS news from Syria excites the Drifter, for he is one of those who think that, next to the Bible, a dictionary would be the most desirable companion for that hypothetical exile on a desert island. The dictionary is one vast compilation of the adventurous wanderings of words. And words, since they are the children of the human brain, wherever they go and whatever they do, carry the weight and warmth of human experience, known or unknown. Consider that sturdy and beautiful plant which is named lilac, and which stands so naturally against the green shutters and the white clapboards of New England that the Drifter had half taken for granted that it was indigenous. The color of its blossoms, to be sure, is the same as that which decks the voluptuous orchid—and the Drifter suspects that no self-respecting Puritan would have allowed an orchid in his house. But the lilac, for all its purple, has a sweet dignity and hardy circumspection that kept it from offending the sternest of the Pilgrim Fathers. It is suitable alike for youth in spring and little old ladies in black.

* * * * *

YET the lilac, as any dictionary will show, has an Oriental past. It is a species of the olive tree, a native of Asia. Its original name, in Sanskrit, is *nila,* or indigo plant. From Persia and Arabia the trail of the *nila* leads into Turkey and Poland, into Bohemia and Bulgaria, and finally into the heart of Europe. Somewhere in the long journey the *n* became *l,* and a *c* or a *k* or a *q* was added as nations took the beautiful shrub into their dooryards and the name into their language. Who first admired the *nila* in its native place and carried it home with him, the dictionary does not divulge. Moreover, no account of the journey of the Mayflower to Plymouth, so far as the Drifter knows, mentions a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slip of lilac as part of the cargo. But the Drifter would wager that the lilac was on board, treasured by a Pilgrim Father's wife who wanted something from home to plant near the strange new doorstep and never dreamed that her precious reminder was a native of Persia.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

An Anglo-Indian Speaks

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: One cardinal blunder vitiates Mr. Gregg's otherwise fair and admirable survey of the Simon report in your issue of July 9. He apparently assumes that the voice of Sir John Simon and his colleagues is the voice of the Viceroy and his counselors. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Among many Anglo-Indians there is a conviction that the appointment of the Simon Commission was a very great mistake. It was badly stage-managed, and it showed a total misunderstanding of Indian psychology. The Government of India knew that the report would have a hostile reception. It was boycotted; it was useless. It represented neither the attitude of the Indian people nor yet the attitude of the Anglo-Indian community. We in India know that friendly relations between Englishmen and Indians are imperative, and we are determined not to lose them for the sake of governmental bludgeoning. With this attitude Lord Irwin is personally associated. That was why he went to London. That was why he, a Conservative, cooperated fully with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Wedgwood Benn, secured a definite statement that the goal of Government was dominion status, and invited leaders of all parties to come to London and state their claims. It was a perfectly fair offer. We Englishmen were frankly disappointed when Mr. Gandhi turned it down. From the extremists we should, perhaps, have expected nothing. But greater help might have come from the moderates. If they will not cooperate, at least they might tell us what government they will put in place of the British raj. Pandit Motilal Nehru and his friends made the attempt. Alas, within a month of its appearance the Nehru report was condemned by practically every section of the Indian community.

The Simon report died even before it was born. In one respect, however, Mr. Gregg is more optimistic than its supporters. He says: "Except for Indian opposition, Parliament would be inclined, I think, to accept the governmental scheme proposed in the report almost without change . . ." We wish it were true. For there is a section of opinion in England that perpetually clamors for "firm government in India," for a sort of Prussianized India. Its chief advocates are two newspapers whose circulation figures considerably exceed the number of intelligent men and women in Great Britain. They savagely attacked Mr. Stanley Baldwin, who, realizing that our Indian policy needed to be "pulled out of the rut," identified himself with Lord Irwin and Mr. MacDonald. And these newspapers are almost powerful enough to win elections. The occasion demands a statesman with vision and not dilatory reporters. Mr. MacDonald, who knows India well, might rise to the occasion. But he has not an assured majority in the House of Commons. He may have to call a general election before the year comes to an end. No wonder Indians are suspicious of English goodwill. Englishmen at home are alternately apathetic or mischievously informed.

The Government of India is not an evil institution. Only according to the highest of Gandhian standards is it "Satanic." But it is curiously unimaginative. It does not understand the uses of propaganda; and malicious reports against it circulate through Europe and North America entirely unchallenged. It is time that it presented its case and showed that it is allied no more to the reactionaries than to those who, against their leader's orders, use murder and rapine for the propagation of the gospel of non-violence. Perhaps the All-India Conference in London will give the Government of India the opportunity it requires.

Montreal, July 30 J. R. GLORNEY BOLTON

ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES

presents the case for American liberty! Here, in cold facts, you may see for yourself the examples of interference with free speech, intolerance to foreigners, police lawlessness, shackled education, an ever-increasing flood of prohibitions, intimidations and censorships. A ruthless exposure of the way American liberties are being lopped off one by one.

THIS LAND OF LIBERTY

$3.00 HARPER

Harry Elmer Barnes says:

"If there ever was a book which intellectual liberals should conspire to give the widest possible circulation it is this one. If there was ever a book which Fundamentalists and traditionalists should endeavor to suppress this is the volume."

MAN *by John Langdon-Davies*

and his Universe

Illustrated, $5.00 HARPER & BROTHERS, New York

Contributors to This Issue

MAXWELL S. STEWART has been for four years instructor in the department of sociology at Yenching University, Peiping, China.

GLENN WARD DRESBACH is the author of a book of verse, "The Wind in the Cedars."

ROBERT V. BEGLEY, formerly connected with the Union Stockyards Company, is a lawyer who has given special attention to the legal and economic problems involved in the packers' case.

CARL DREHER is connected with the motion-picture industry at Los Angeles.

FORREST REVERE BLACK is professor of law at the University of Kentucky.

EUGENE LÖHRKE is editor of "Armageddon: The World War in Literature."

HORACE GREGORY will publish this fall "Chelsea Rooming House," a book of verse.

WILLIAM SEAGLE is the author of "Cato, or the Future of Censorship."

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER is the author of "The Temptation of Anthony."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

Now Must the Mind Write

By EDA LOU WALTON

Now must the mind write
Words desired,
For the hand is too tired,
The lips too tired tonight.
Silently must the mind write
Words and never speak.
Hand slips over hair,
Fair lips are laid to cheek,
To the mind's brow;
How can the mind speak now?
Yet the mind must somehow write,
There are many words to be written,
Though the brow be smitten with light,
And lips with lips,
Though hand slips into hand
Forever tonight,
The mind must write!
O culpable hair
Mind-rooted and betrayed
Strayed to the breast,
Even tonight
In delight
In despair
Must the mind write.

The Classical Canons

The Course of English Classicism. By Sherard Vines. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.25.

IN his twenty years' war to discredit romanticism, Mr. Irving Babbitt (if I may be forgiven so belated a reference) must have found that his most effective rhetorical device has been that of a calm historical statement of the excesses and absurdities of the extreme romanticists. But the weapon can be applied quite as effectively by the enemy. If Mr. Babbitt's citations drive you into the ranks of the classicists, then you might try reading this history of English classicism by Mr. Sherard Vines, and be frightened back to where you came from.

Not that Mr. Vines has written his volume with any such purpose. He is a classicist himself, of, so far as I can make out, the extreme right wing. After setting down some of the innumerable stupid judgments that the classical rules have caused otherwise intelligent men to make—such as Addison's cool dismissal of the Gothic cathedrals as "mean," and the Augustan Age's rejection of Shakespeare as barbarous—Mr. Vines is capable of judgments quite as hopeless. He holds it to be a perverse age that extols "Hamlet" and ignores Addison's "Cato"; and in praising Pope's "Essay on Criticism," he writes (as if to elevate one author it were necessary to kick a few others) that "it is poetry to anyone who is not deafened with a century of uncouth and agonized cries, whether from Shelleys, Brownings, Masefields, or Mews." He goes on to remark in praise of Pope that he is "not merely a 'great poet'; he is unfailingly efficient; he forgets, unlike Homer, Shakespeare, Shelley, or Browning, to nod." The truth of which would seem to me to depend a great deal upon one's definition of nodding. But perhaps Mr. Vines is thinking of form and not of content, and prefers a polished platitude to a slightly awkward line, however fresh or penetrating.

There is at least no reason to believe that Mr. Vines has his tongue in his cheek when he makes these judgments. They are, of course, only a natural result of a rigid adherence to the classical canons. For the typical classical virtues—correctness, order, good sense, good taste, dignity, adherence to the rules—are within the grasp of writers of ordinary talent. It follows that if we apply these classic standards (and many of them are sound enough as far as they go) we must never forget that they are always at bottom secondary. The first question the critic must ask of any writer is what qualities he has that make him worth discussing at all—what it is that makes him arresting or unique—what is his peculiar genius, originality, or force. There will be plenty of time to discuss his correctness and good taste when these primary questions have been answered. Yet the failure to recognize this fundamental distinction between genius and propriety is responsible for mountains of critical rubbish, from which Mr. Vines has diligently collected a representative heap.

The truth is that the age-long controversy between romanticists and classicists has been infinitely tedious, and we are perhaps indebted to Mr. Vines for unintentionally making that fact so clear. What an endless battle of threadbare labels and faded meanings! It seems to me that the sensible critic today will merely pronounce a plague on both houses, and try to approach the subject afresh. He is likely to find, as the biologists are now finding in the ancient controversy over heredity and environment, that both sides are right in what they assert and wrong in what they deny. The existing categories and separations are unreal. One of the traditional differences, for example, between classicists and romanticists is that the first emphasize the function of the intellect and the second that of the emotions. But it should be obvious by now that in practice neither can exist without the other, that every intellectual process has its emotional color and every emotion its intellectual concomitant. Again, classicism is usually allied to tradition and romanticism to experiment. But in a recent symposium it occurred to one or two of the more astute contributors that any great work of art must be *both* rooted in tradition *and* experimental. As Emerson has put it: "Poetry must be as new as foam and as old as the rock." That is why it is impossible to classify any first-rate writer, like Shakespeare or Goethe, as either classic or romantic: he has so many elements in his make-up that he cannot be squeezed into such arbitrary categories.

The present book, I regret to add, is depressing not only because of its subject but on its own account. Mr. Vines is a British college professor, and his work has all the typical professorial merits and defects. It has scholarship, it has a few skittish attempts at humor, and it has pedantry and dulness. It swarms with the names of forgotten worthies, whom the author pigeonholes most carefully under classic, gothic, baroque, romantic. He writes wretchedly, and seldom manages to get down a straightforward sentence; the references of his pronouns are so hazy that half the time one cannot tell whom he is talking about. Here is a typical sentence:

> Dufresnoy influenced many after Dryden; and the importance and duration of his principles in precept, and practice such as Sir Joshua Reynolds's, is a sign that Schasler's view (cited by Bosanquet) that British aesthetic forsook Platonism in the eighteenth century, is wide of the mark.

Finally, like a true professor, Mr. Vines makes no reference to the winds of doctrine that blow today, but ends with Macaulay.

HENRY HAZLITT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bloodless Biography

Joseph Fouché. By Stefan Zweig. The Viking Press. $2.50.

AS a biographer Stefan Zweig is peculiarly bloodless, but as an essayist he is discriminating, and if he is often unable to see the forest because of the trees this is the result less of a preoccupation with facts than with didactic oratory.

His long series of literary biographies seems to have been written with the pen in one hand and the birch rod in the other, and his faith in his own logic and lucidity is a form of fanaticism which all may not share alike. But his literary program, at least, is impressive, and his success among discriminating readers on the Continent is less to be wondered at than his apparent failure to reach an audience here. In spirit he is a medievalist; like Romain Rolland a deep believer in the sources of his own prophetic inspiration. His appeal to the modern mind is vague and inconstant.

No doubt, as his publishers have it, Stefan Zweig is "sure of his philosophy." This is a valuable asset for a creative writer providing the horizons are wide enough. But with an even more positive scale of values Hilaire Belloc has recaptured figures from an identical past and given them vitality to the present. Mr. Zweig's peculiar method is to cut his cloth first before measuring his men. The result is nebulous when it is not logically discordant.

In the cases of Casanova, Stendhal, and Tolstoy, Mr. Zweig wished to reveal "adepts in self-portraiture," overlooking the truism that every serious writer is largely preoccupied with himself. One might have inserted Katherine Mansfield, or Havelock Ellis, or D. H. Lawrence in the category without in the least disturbing any logical equilibrium but that of Mr. Zweig. It is beside the point to inquire whether such obscurantism is conscious or not. Common sense plays its part in literature as in life, and the absurdity of any parallel between Stendhal and Tolstoy aside from the commonplace human one does not diminish in the atmosphere of Mr. Zweig's airy dogmatism.

In "Joseph Fouché" we have the portrait of a politician. We have, again, a neatly stylized essay and a frame arranged in advance so that a portrait may fit into it. What does actually emerge from a perusal of this book is the fact that Joseph Fouché, on the human side at least, is worthy of a more full-blooded biographer than the modern monk of the Kapuzinerberg. There is no questioning Mr. Zweig's scholarship. He has his facts delicately at his finger tips. He is able to raise the curtain on a scene and drop it at the proper interval. He can describe, narrate, and draw a wash over his bleak outlines which has some resemblance, at least, to color. But his creation of Fouché, like his creations of Dickens and Dostoevski, speaks to us only after he has pulled the wires. Once again we have, instead of the dance of life, a ghost dance to the tune of a fleshless didacticism. We have, again, manikins, arranged on a stage somewhat below the level of the Kapuzinerberg where the master writes. And once again we perceive that Mr. Zweig's historical creations cannot come to life because he has no life to breath into them, but merely tags to label them by.

We see that Joseph Fouché emerged from the obscurity of provincial Nantes and played traitor to every cause he enlisted to support during the flame and fever of the Terror. If we did not know that it was his hand which arranged the downfall of Robespierre, Mr. Zweig proves this step by step. We know that he was by turn Jacobin, Bonapartist, Royalist, betraying every trust in turn until he extinguished his own light in a final stupid attempt to dazzle the world. We can share Napoleon's opinion that he was "the one really perfect traitor" where we cannot share Mr. Zweig's conviction that he was the world's most consummate politician. He was, rather, a clever card sharper in an age of desperate gambling for supremely high stakes. Then he was the Duke of Otranto, as pitiful a spectacle as Casanova in his old age, dying like a miser with the hoard of scandal he had collected and consigning it to the flames.

A singular and—from the biographer's point of view—a superb figure, that of lean Joseph Fouché, ex-oratorian and minister of police. But the business of biography as we understand it today is to create and not to evaluate. Mr. Zweig's half-tones do not blend with the flame and passion of Fouché's times. They are lost in it, until only the author's pronouncements remain—in their turn to be questioned and evaluated.

EUGENE LÖHRKE

Mr. Masters on a Spree

Gettysburg, Manila, Acoma. By Edgar Lee Masters. Horace Liveright. $10.

SURELY no poet of the older generation has deserved the prestige of a wide reputation more than Edgar Lee Masters. He was among the first to be recognized in the "new-poetry" movement that was in full swing during the war, and yet even today, after a period of rapid transition, his "Spoon River Anthology" and "The Domesday Book" can be reread and enjoyed with honest enthusiasm. The full-bodied vitality that we associate with these two books of poetry has not worn thin. The doctor-lawyer-small-town-atheist personality of Edgar Lee Masters is still very much alive, and still an important contribution to American literature.

Masters is always at his best when he is driven by the necessity of telling a story, usually in a Middle Western setting where he is thoroughly familiar with realistic detail. Both "Spoon River" and "The Domesday Book" illustrate his talent working at full power. It is only when he is forced to rely upon himself as a conscious artist that his talent fails and his lack of self-criticism becomes painfully evident. He has written much downright bad poetry. Like William Ellery Leonard, a poet of equally dramatic personality, he is afflicted with a "grand manner" that is often out of keeping with his subject matter.

His latest volume, containing three dramatic poems—Gettysburg, Manila, and Acoma—is an example of Masters at his worst. The book is likely to embarrass any admirer of Masters's poetry, though here, as often before in his earlier work, Masters shows us that his heart and a fair section of his mental activity are in the right place. He is still the inverted American patriot, bitter, ironic, disillusioned. All this, however, does not justify two long tragic poems, the first dealing with Booth about to shoot Lincoln and the second concerning the American invasion of the Philippines, written in thundering, pseudo-Shakespearean blank verse.

What makes the situation even more embarrassing is that we are quite willing to agree with the general trend of Masters's opinions concerning the destructive influences of American imperialism, the central theme of all three poems. Two quotations, one from Gettysburg, the other from Manila, will serve to show what Masters has done with his material:

SOLDIERS' CHORUS

For Lincoln won, ha, ha;
And Davis lost, ho, ho;
Now double-quick, for my girl is waiting,
And I am bound to go.
Ha, ha, ha,
Ho, ho, ho;
And I am bound to go.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEWEY'S SAILORS

Boom! Boom! The Raleigh's cannon roar;
Boom! Boom! Reply the Boston, Baltimore . . .

These are lyrical interludes, by no means as painful as some of the blank verse. We can simply assume that Masters is on one of his barnstorming tours in which Booth becomes a maudlin hero and McKinley a pale, pot-bellied, top-hatted villain. This, however, is no indication that Masters has completed his career as an important figure in American letters; he is merely off on another of his periodic sprees. Just as a hopeless drunkard irresistibly reaches out for a bottle of post-war redenatured alcohol, so Masters takes his vacation by diving headlong into the worst of possible poetry.

HORACE GREGORY

The New Criminology

500 Criminal Careers. By Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

FOR all I know, the chances are that this study by the Gluecks will become one of the "classics" of the new criminology. It is the most painstaking and thorough investigation of the grist of a great penological institution that has ever been made. It resulted from the encouragement of Dr. Richard C. Cabot, of Harvard, and an appropriation of $11,000 by the Harvard Milton Fund, and it took three years to complete. The hard, unshakable fact which the investigation establishes is that 80 per cent of the 510 men who were discharged from the Massachusetts Reformatory from 1911 to 1922 were not reformed from five to fifteen years later but were continuing in their careers of crime. The exact contrary used to be asserted: to wit, that 80 per cent of those graduated from reformatories proved successes. This conclusion was based upon the study of offenders during a short parole period. The Gluecks have upset it by tracing their group thoroughly for a post-parole period of five years. Since the Massachusetts Reformatory is among the best in the country, the finding of the Gluecks is a terrific indictment of the reformatory system in general, and since the reformatory deals with the youthful and less hardened offenders for whom the greatest hopes of reformation are to be entertained, it is also a cause for despair of our penal institutions in general. The recent outbreak of prison riots must strengthen this feeling.

What remedies are there for this situation? Is humanity to remain forever baffled by crime? The Gluecks are not only concerned to establish their central fact of the failure of the reformatory, but undertake an elaborate examination of the criminal history of their cases with a view to establishing a general method for dealing with offenders. It is a very curious and significant fact that the Gluecks, despite the impact of the discouraging facts they have studied, constantly reveal an optimistic spirit looking toward improvement and reform, while Dr. Richard C. Cabot, who stands sponsor for the book and introduces it to the reader, has only very despairing comments to make. It seems to me that this tacit disagreement may be taken as the basis for some doubts about the method and purposes of the study.

Those doubts do not relate to the typicality of the findings. On the contrary, they proceed directly from it. I think that the central fact of the failure of the reformatory system was worth establishing. But I cannot refrain from regretting that so much time of two intelligent investigators should have been necessary to dispose with finality of the fatuous beliefs of some misguided criminologists. No one who knows anything about the nature of our society and who has had the briefest acquaintance with the actual working of one reformatory institution should have had cause for any optimism. Certainly it must have been obvious to such an experienced criminologist as Dr. Sheldon Glueck that most of the graduates of the reformatory would be found to be continuing in their careers of crime, as soon as he had ascertained the way the reformatory was administered and examined the record cards of the 510 inmates. Only a third of them could in any sense be called mentally normal and a fifth of them were positively feeble-minded. They came from poverty-stricken and degraded homes. Before their sentences to the reformatory the 510 boys had been arrested 1,944 times! Their subsequent careers might readily have been guessed without the tremendous efforts of three years to trace their present whereabouts. Without wishing to detract from the ingenuity and enterprise shown by the Gluecks in accomplishing this, it may well be said that the very fact that they were successful in finding 90 per cent of the men five years after their parole period is an indication of their continuing criminality. Had they all been leading law-abiding and successful lives it would have been far more difficult to follow their tracks, since they would not have been known to social agencies and police identification bureaus.

If this phase of the study fills me merely with doubts, there are others which leave me with a positive impatience. They exemplify for me that passion for research for research's sake which has resulted from the striving of the social sciences to achieve the exactness of the physical sciences. Doubtless many problems are proper for exact research, but it seems to me that criminology is a discipline too much ridden by human values to be capable of development by statistical method. There are no less than 116 tables printed in this study analyzing the criminal history of the 510 men. They are treated like so many guinea-pigs. After the various factors in their lives are tabulated separately, they are tabulated in combinations to show various coefficients of contingency of their continuing criminality. The possibility of establishing such actuarial tables is taken as the basis of a hope for certainty and predictability in criminal justice. A judge in sentencing a criminal will simply have to consult his coefficients of contingency, and they will never betray him any more than logarithmic tables. Presumably the coefficients of contingency are to be constantly adjusted to improvements in penology which may throw them off by a few points. May I be old-fashioned enough to say that I prefer to these coefficients of contingency the "human-interest" stories of some of the individual offenders printed in a chapter called A Sheaf of Lives, and their personal comments presented in another chapter called The Point of View of the Ex-Prisoner?

The whole of Chapters 6 and 7, which are devoted to the criminogenesis of the Glueck criminals, represents a type of criminological investigation which should have no place in a new criminology. The possible causes of crime are not obscure; it is the complexity of their combination that causes all the trouble. Hence all attempts at cataloguing the "causes" of crime which one finds neatly done in textbooks of criminology are to be regarded as futile. Such statistical information is valuable only as material for shocking our consciences, as propaganda for the social revolution, but it is useless as far as the individual criminal is concerned. The emphasis must always be upon him rather than on the causes of crime. It is true that the present economic organization of society is a tremendous factor in criminal causation (yet curiously few criminologists ever use their tables of the causes of crime to preach the social revolution), but mental deficiencies are no less potent. On the other hand, neither factor, obviously, necessarily results in crime. Not all the poor are law-breakers, nor are all the feeble-minded in jail. In dealing with crime we are confronted by too many imponderables of criminal causation, too many of the dark mysteries of the human soul.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A social revolution may result in bringing actual penal institutions closer to the possibilities of modern criminology (in no other field has there significantly been such a tremendous institutional lag behind knowledge), but a social revolution will not itself, of course, abolish crime. Alas, life is the cause of crime. Long after economic classes are abolished mental classes must persist, for it is obvious that we shall never have true social revolution if humanity is to wait until it is cured of *all* its psychoses and superstitions.

Where disagreement is bound to exist for such a long time, it seems to me that the "scientific" method of the Gluecks is not very helpful. I should say rather that good judgment, sense, and faith are required. It seems to me the basic cry of criminologists for "individualization" in the treatment of the criminal is sound. We need an intramural system of classification and segregation which will become more and more effective as psychology and psychiatry advance, and we need certainly a more adequate and honest system of parole. I realize that I make these assertions without research. But has man lost his glorious power to affirm? Why even the Gluecks themselves in the end, however inconsistently, cast discretion to the winds and affirm conclusions about our system of criminal justice for which they offer no proof at all, either by coefficients of contingency or any other means. WILLIAM SEAGLE

Histories of the Jews

A History of the Jews. By Abram Leon Sachar. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

The Jews in the Christian Era. By Laurie Magnus. E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.

BOTH of these volumes are helpful. Dr. Magnus's work, indeed, ranks very high both as historical thinking and as historical writing. But neither his in its restricted field nor Dr. Sachar's in its comprehensive survey satisfies the particular and peculiar needs of a history of the Jews.

To write the history of the Jews requires an unprecedented scholarship, a fine literary talent to organize the vast and confused materials into a readable progression, and a new historical viewpoint. Of necessity a history of the Jews must be a world history; and the greater part of it must be written not as a political record, for which alone there is a historical tradition, but as a cultural history, for which a satisfactory technique has hardly as yet been devised.

The historian is on familiar political ground only for short and relatively unimportant periods. As a self-governing and pettily imperial nation the career of the Jews was brief and inglorious. The kingdoms of Judea and of the Ten Tribes, of the Hasmoneans and of Herod are more to be mourned for their existence than for their end. They were typical of the brutal, terrified, ephemeral smaller monarchies of the Near East. The Judaism that contributed to civilization is the Judaism of the Exile, the nationhood that out of its necessity devised other than political forms for its functioning. When the history of this effort comes to be written its publication will be a great event.

Dr. Magnus comes close to it. His book, however, through its essay form and its presupposition of a detailed acquaintance with the events and personalities of Jewish history, is taken out of the range of the general reader. It is in effect a study of the Jewish contributions to European civilization. It gives, moreover, only a vague sense of the milieu (vague because it is built of formulated, if interesting, generalization rather than fact) from which the contributors emerged and, indeed, drew their contributions. Within its limits, however, the book is excellent, and it is distinguished by an admirable style.

In his preface Dr. Sachar shows that he understands the special problems of writing Jewish history, but in his text he reveals himself incapable of coping with them. His book becomes, in spite of the resistance of the subject matter, the traditional political history. Where it attempts first-hand work, as in its treatment of American Jewry, it succeeds in no more than a naming of names by "Who's Who" standards.

In style Dr. Sachar attempts a brightness that he has not enough electric to sustain. His models are perhaps worthier, but his own writing resembles most the tedious and fussy scintillations of the converted professors in the *American Mercury*. However, it is true that there is no better one-volume history of the Jews available. ISIDOR SCHNEIDER

Books in Brief

Seed. By Charles G. Norris. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.

Charles Norris's latest work is more a disquisition than a novel, a patently didactic discussion of that time-worn question: whether or not birth-control is a frustration of God's design in nature. In this drama of the misfortune of a young novelist and his wife whose marriage is temporarily wrecked owing to the misunderstandings and poverty arising from unwelcome children, Mr. Norris is more teacher than writer. A benign priest on one hand and an emancipated physician on the other represent the two divergent points of view in lengthy and unimaginative conversations. "Seed" does not escape the pitfall of monotony which awaits most treatise fiction. Stodgily argumentative, the author supports his theme by a tedious citation of numerous horrible examples whose misery is ascribed to uncontrolled procreation. We become too involved in unraveling the interrelationships of the family clan and too irritatingly aware of the underscored moral to sympathize with the difficulties of the main characters. As a sincere plea for the sane dissemination of contraceptive information and as a competent analysis of passion, love, and parenthood, this work is eminently satisfying; but as a novel it remains lethargic and overlong.

Strangers May Kiss. By Ursula Parrott. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $2.50.

One suspects that Miss Parrott's second novel will rival the popularity of its predecessor, "Ex-Wife," because there is still a public avid for intimate description of illicit relations, obstetrics, disillusion, drunken or sober, and true love not quite conquering all. This does not imply that "Strangers May Kiss" has been written with an eye to possible sales; the book is honest and sincere. The author develops her theme—that two may love but the man rides on—in the narration of the brief meetings and long separations of her two main characters. Her people are real. One meets them in New York—restless, distorted, shoddy. But just as one avoids them in real life, one's instinct is also to keep clear of them in fiction.

Shepherds in Sackcloth. By Sheila Kaye-Smith. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

In her latest novel the author of "Joanna Godden" tells another fine, quiet tale of Sussex and its people. Mr. Bennet, rector of Delmonden, and his little magpie wife have ministered for twenty-five years to a village perversely more interested in tapioca pudding than in the Bread of Life. Never too clerical to be blind to the human problems about them, the Bennets become involved in the difficult love affair between a stormy young member of the gentry and a farmer evangelist. The piteous end of the struggle costs the Bennets much, in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sympathy, grief, and disillusion, and it opens the rector's disastrous warfare with his bishop, who can think of souls only in thousand lots.

The New Encyclopedia of Music and Musicians. Edited by Waldo Selden Pratt. The Macmillan Company. $3.

No one is too ignorant or too learned to read a dictionary, and if Théophile Gautier and Anatole France never lived to see the day when they could not prowl with profit through dictionaries, who are we that we should disdain such exercise? Mr. Pratt's new encyclopedia is a happy hunting ground for lovers of music. Having begun life as a one-volume abridgment of Sir George Grove's monumental work, it branched off on a career of its own and has become something quite distinctive. The material is divided into three parts, the first being definitions, the second biographies, and the third an entertaining excursion (one of the first of its kind) into musical geography. The cities and towns where music flourishes in any part of the world are listed alphabetically and their musical associations and institutions are itemized. Instead of abridging Grove, Mr. Pratt's volume supplements it indispensably.

Peace. By Arne Garborg. Translated from the Norwegian by Phillips Dean Carleton. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.50.

Perhaps in no other novel in literature has the phenomenon of religious monomania that shrivels and poisons everything it touches been described so pitilessly yet understandingly. From the sordidness of the crouching and canting peasant life and the unrelieved bleakness of the moors and rocks of southwest Norway—both his own childhood environment—the great Norwegian novelist has wrung beauty and majesty as background for the tragedy of the fanatical peasant Enok.

General Conference
OF THE
FELLOWSHIP *of* RECONCILIATION
Unity House, Forest Park, Pa.
(in the Poconos)
SEPTEMBER 11-14, 1930
Topic:—Overcoming Violence in my Community
A. J. MUSTE, Chairman
Leaders of discussion:—Louis Francis Budenz, Paul H. Douglas, Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, F. Ernest Johnson, Kirby Page, Mordecai W. Johnson and the Secretaries of the Fellowship.
The Conference is open to all who are interested. Rates, $3.50 per day. Registration fee, $2.00. Reservations should be made at once.
The Fellowship of Reconciliation
383 Bible House, Astor Place New York City

SOVIET RUSSIA
An extraordinary combination of low price and tour value for Students. $280 complete. The itinerary is fascinating.
Aug. 27 S.S. Berengaria.
Sept. 17 S.S. Berengaria.
WORLD TOURISTS, Inc.
175 Fifth Avenue, New York Algonquin 6656

POSITIONS WANTED

SECRETARY and editorial assistant, free beginning September 8th for long or short temporary position. Well recommended. Box 104, % *The Nation.*

SECRETARY-STENOGRAPHER, expert, newspaper experience, knowledge foreign languages, desires afternoon position. Box 106, % *The Nation* or phone Rector 1264.

NEWSPAPER EDITORS: A-1 editor wants correspondent's job with daily seeking to strengthen its New York service. Young, experienced, news and features. Box 108, % *The Nation.*

CULTURED German girl, 35 years, graduate nurse, good housekeeper with highest references wishes position. Box 109, % *The Nation.*

SECRETARY, stenographer, extensive experience with prominent writers, part-time only. Manuscripts typed, careful accurate work. German translations. Highest references. Riverside 8966, or Box 2336, % *The Nation.*

WOMAN attorney desires position with firm (legal, commercial) organization, where training will be beneficially applied. Box No. 110, % *The Nation.*

PUBLICITY and newspaper woman, experienced also in field work, lobbying, etc., seeks connection. Box No. 111, % *The Nation.*

YOUNG man, Ph.D., ten years' experience teaching, organizing and directing progressive schools and camps, desires teaching position or other suitable work. Valuable to any group of people interested in the promotion of a progressive educational enterprise, or in social service. Box No. 112, % *The Nation.*

CHILD CARE

TWO mothers, unusually successful in raising their own children, will care for several more between three and six years. Delightful home, large, protected grounds in White Plains. Out program: wholesome food, outdoor play, development individual talents. Moderate fee. Write Mrs. Stuart, 333 Main Street, White Plains, or call Regent 4229, N. Y.

EDUCATIONAL

FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN GERMAN
Conversational method. Native teachers. Private lessons, 75c, short course, 9 to 9 daily. 18th year.
FISHER'S SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES
1264 Lexington Avenue, N. W. Cor. 85th Street

FRENCH-SPANISH-ITALIAN
GERMAN. Private lessons 75c (Daily 9-9). Native teachers. Interesting conversational method. 19th year. Also neglected English education.
UNIVERSAL SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES
1265 Lexington Ave., Northeast Cor. 85th St.

Teacher Director
A SMALL progressive day school in picturesque liberal community in Northern Westchester needs teacher leader. One inspiring and creative, who responds to accomplishment rather than salary will enjoy work here. Call Murray Hill 8540 or write Box 107, % *The Nation.*

OPEN SHELF

DO YOU REALLY CARE TWO CENTS WORTH?
A 2c stamp, no more, will carry to you the 16 p. booklet **"Causes of Business Depression"** by Henry George, American philosopher, economist and humanity lover, whose *Progress and Poverty* appears in all European languages. Open your mind to a great Truth, and find the cure as well as the preventive of Unemployment, Poverty, Crime. All Georgist books sold without profit. Ask for list.
Robert Schalkenbach Foundation
13 Park Place, New York City
SUPPORTED BY ENDOWMENTS

FOR SALE

Acres on lake property
50 miles from City. Choice acres for sale. Reasonable terms.
Jessor, Walton Lake Camp Corp., Monroe, N. Y.

COOPERATIVE Apartments for Sale. 6 year old successful Rochdale cooperative. Lowest operating charges in N. Y. C. Consumers Cooperative Housing Association, Inc. Phone or write J. D. Steblins, Mgr., 64 Barrow St., Greenwich Village. Walker 7394.

FOR week-ends right now, little old house with old fireplace in living room. Attractively clean, but no conveniences. Large, old timbered barn. High land, trees. Garden. On little used road. 42 miles from 59th St., N. Y. C. $8,500. Mrs. W. H. Rogers, Stamford, Conn. Box 889. Tel. Stamford, Minor 78 Ring 2.

ROOM—FURNISHED

SPLENDID large well-furnished room. Separate entrance. Private family. Home privileges. Breakfast optional. Excellent location near drive. $35 if permanent. Business woman preferred. 614 W. 148th St. Tel. Edgecomb 7819 early evenings.

SHOPPERS' CORNER

MARITZA, 172 W. 4th Street,
is having a summer clearance sale, which is very worth while. Very special crocheted coats made of hand woven material $24.50. Hand embroidered dresses, voile—$7.95 up, silk—$16.50 up. Palestinian children's—$3.50. Also hats, and crocheted dresses.

VACATION DISCOUNTS on Remington Portable Typewriters and Waterman Fountain Pens during August only. For other savings on standard advertised merchandise call John 1427, or write: SERVWELL SYSTEM, INC., 35 Maiden Lane, N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUMMER SUMMER

MILFORD

KENT, Connecticut

'The Camp for YOUth!'

A beautiful summering place for intelligent young folks and folks who stay young; informal, athletic, carefree; sheltered tent accommodations and log cabins; excellent meals.

"Mickey" Michaels is especially desirous of greeting Nation readers.

JUST BRING A BUNDLE OF SPIRIT!

Rates Moderate.

Camp 'phone Kent 1-8

In New York: 1440 Broadway

PENnsylvania 7842

In the Heart of the Adirondacks

A Summer Camp

For Grown-Ups

A camp devoted to assuring its guests a good wholesome vacation. Every known sport; bathing, boating, riding, golf and tennis. Excellent Social Staff. **Dietary laws observed.**

Rates $35 per wk.

SPECIAL LABOR DAY WEEK-END

FOUR DAYS, ALL EXPENSES $37.50

Write for Literature

New York City Office

PIONEER LODGE

145 W. 41st St. Tel. WISconsin 3151

FOR relaxation, beautiful country, pleasant companionship; tennis. Phone to THE HIL-BERT HOUSE, Lake Mahopac, N. Y.

HIL FRIEDBERG, Prop. Tel. Mahopac 858

AUTUMN ON CAPE COD

SEPTEMBER and October are delightful months in Provincetown. Bright blue days. Swimming one block (bay). Charming rooms. Good food. Fall rates $25.00 weekly.

ANN WASHINGTON CRATON, 22 Pearl St. Provincetown, Mass.

Spend Your Vacation on the shores of the Queen of Mountain Lakes

WUNNISHAUNTA

Camp for Young Men & Women

ON LAKE WINNEPESAUKEE

Superb location at "America's first summer resort." All the most desirable camp features. The Wunnishaunta Booklet, sent free, includes pictures of camp activities, auto routes, train and airplane information.

MRS. SADIE BRICKMAN, *Hostess*

WOLFEBORO, NEW HAMPSHIRE

SCOPUS

P.O. Lake George, N. Y.

An Adult Camp of Distinction in the Adirondacks

Spend a *real* vacation on beautiful Trout Lake! All land and water sports—unusual social activities. Dietary Laws observed. Camp open all September, at Special Rates.

N.Y. Office: 11 W. 42nd St. LONgacre 0105

BAILIN'S MAPLEDALE HOTEL

"The Hotel with the Camp Spirit"

Roscoe (Sullivan Co.) N. Y. Tel. Roscoe 8Y2

For the Modern and Moody

Conveniences • • River • • Sports • •

Casino • Recreation • Social Activities •

Supreme Jewish Cuisine

Special rates for September

City address: 570 7th Av., Suite 1002, N.Y.

Phones: Pennsylvania 1777 I. B. Bailin

Coney Island 1750 Eva Bailin

SEA GATE RENDEZ-VOUS

Where food is the best

A VACATION is a necessity; a change of surroundings greatly beneficial; wholesome food an elixir. You will enjoy all this at the Sea Gate Rendez-vous, where food is the best, where comfort, coziness and simplicity, aided by the sea air, and the health-giving rays of the sun, combines to restore poise, harmony and well being to the vacationist. Arrangements by week, day, or as long as your vacation lasts. Write 3913 Laurel Ave., Sea Gate, N. Y. Harbor, or Telephone Mayflower 8655.

INDIAN HEAD

an ideal camp for adults

Echo Lake, Warrensburg, N. Y.

Dancing
Swimming
Fishing
Rowing
Canoeing

Tennis
Golf
Baseball
Basket Ball
Horseback riding

All social and sport activities.

Only five miles from Lake George.

Rate: $32.50 per week.

Take Albany Night boat on any Saturday night and meet our bus at the Albany Pier on Sunday morning which will transport you to camp without any extra charge.

Write or phone for illustrated booklet.

N. Y. Office:

870 E. 149th St. Phone Mott Haven 4703

HIDDEN IN THE CONNECTICUT HILLS

Swimming
Boating
Horseback

Tennis
Handball
Basketball

165 Acres of Rustic Beauty

Delicious food from our own farm

RATES, AUGUST $28

SEPTEMBER $25

Reservations limited to 65

Bungalows for two, three or more.

Write or Phone Direct

UNCAS LODGE, Uncasville, Conn.

Norwich 1858, Ring 5

CAMP TOPSTONE—*For Adults*

A Jewish Camp with a fine American spirit

All land and water sports, with free instruction. Splendid social activities. Excellent strictly Kosher meals.

Write for illustrated booklet

SHAPIRO BROS. Branchville, Conn.

ECHO LAKE TAVERN

WARRENSBURG, N. Y.

A Camp for Adults in the Adirondacks

Most modern facilities for comfort and sports including golf

Booklet on request

City phone Lex. 8879

THE CRYSTAL VILLA

WOODCLIFF LAKE, N. J.

A rare combination of Country Pleasures with City Comforts. All modern improvements. Beautiful surroundings. Altitude 864. Free of Mosquitoes. Excellent Meals. Delightful Bathing and Fishing. 28 Miles from New York City. Very Easy Commutation. Write for Booklet. Telephone Park Ridge 404.

SONAQUA CLUB

Lake Mohegan, N. Y.

The Haven for Sport Lovers. Ideal for recreation and relaxation. Convenient for week-ends. Only 45 miles from New York.

Sports

Tennis, Boating

Swimming, Dancing

For reservations call Peekskill 1276

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED